

JAPAN IN CHINA

A SYMPOSIUM OF AUTHORITATIVE
STATEMENTS AND WORLD OPINION

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Questions and Answers about the Boycott

Q. Will not the boycott arouse anti-Japanese sentiment and thus injure the cause of international friendship?

A. This is a somewhat tricky question in that it ignores the obligations of friendship for the Chinese people. We agree that it would be most unfortunate if America's natural sympathy for China should arouse hatred for the Japanese people, who are in no sense responsible for the war. But, properly guided, the boycott is probably the best safeguard against such a development. Inaction, or the tendency to "leave such matters to the government," is an open invitation to the jingoistic, pro-war elements to capitalize on the existing mistrust of Japan. In order to avoid this, it is necessary to show that there is a non-violent method of opposition to aggression. That this can be done successfully is indicated by the anti-Nazi boycott which, so far as we can discover, has never aroused hostility against the German people.

Q. Will the boycott not cause serious unemployment among American workers, particularly among operatives in the hosiery and textile mills?

A. This can be answered categorically in the negative. Investigation has revealed that the same workers, and to a large extent the same machines, as are now employed in fabricating silk can be utilized in manufacturing articles made from silk substitutes.

Q. But what about the dealers who have Japanese goods on hand; will they not suffer unjustly in a general boycott?

A. The various boycott organizations have made it quite clear that they are willing to allow merchants to dispose of their existing stocks if they will enter into an agreement not to purchase anything further from Japan until all Japanese troops have been withdrawn from China. Meanwhile, non-boycotters can be counted on to absorb existing stocks, which, fortunately, are small.

Q. What of the share-croppers and tenant farmers of the South? Will the boycott not injure them by reducing the amount of cotton which Japan obtains in this country?

A. Temporarily, possibly; in the long run, no. The whole purpose of the boycott is, of course, to curtail Japanese purchases of war material in this country, among which cotton is an important item. But the cotton interests of the South must not forget that one of Japan's chief ambitions in taking over North China is to develop cotton growing in the Yellow River valley to the point where Japan will no longer need to buy American cotton. As far as the boycott is concerned, the individual farmer is protected from loss by the AAA bounties and fixed government loans on the cotton crop.

Q. How can we expect American women to refuse to buy silk stockings when the substitutes are so markedly inferior?

A. While it would seem that the discomfort which American women suffer from wearing lisle or rayon hose is insignificant when weighed against the invasion of

China, the practical considerations raised by this question are undoubtedly serious. The possibility of checking aggression rests very largely on the style consciousness of American women. In lieu of suggesting perfectly satisfactory substitutes, we can only say that if enough women endure the temporary discomfort of lisle and rayon, the hosiery manufacturers will be forced to market the better substitutes which are known to exist.

Q. Is it not likely that the boycott will so sting Japan's pride that it will redouble its warlike activities?

A. Psychologically this might be the effect; but, as Freda Uteley pointed out in a recent issue of *The Nation*, Japan cannot wage war without active help from the United States and Great Britain. As the boycott is already strong in Britain, the fate of China rests very largely in America's hands.

Q. Is there not danger that the boycott will cause starvation in Japan?


A. Fortunately not. It happens that Japan, with its colonies, is self-sufficient in foodstuffs. While Japanese workers will undoubtedly be affected by unemployment and the general economic disorganization caused by the boycott, the losses suffered will be unimportant as compared with the economic burden imposed by the war itself. A number of anti-war Japanese in this country have come out openly for the boycott on the ground that a sudden breakdown in the Japanese economy is preferable to the gradual attrition resulting from continued war.

Q. Is there not danger that the boycott will so arouse Japan's hostility that it will declare war against the United States?

A. That the Japanese militarists will be angered by the boycott goes without saying, but it is fantastic to imagine that a country which is encountering the greatest difficulty in its invasion of China would declare war on the most powerful country in the world, merely out of resentment. An effective boycott would itself preclude that possibility.

Q. Is there not danger that the boycott will be the first step on the road leading the United States to ultimate military action and war?

A. This was partially answered in the reply to the question on the danger of arousing anti-Japanese sentiment. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the boycott is a means of passive resistance, an *alternative* to military action, not a step in that direction. It is not even coercive in the sense that government sanctions may be said to be. It merely reflects the determination of the American people not to support the mass murder of thousands of defenseless Chinese men, women, and children. It is not nationalistic or jingoistic. On the contrary, it is a clear recognition of our responsibilities of citizenship in the world. Every person has the right to choose how he will spend his money. It is only his duty to see that the money is not used to further war and aggression.



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"ORPHANED BY JAPANESE BOMBS"

—News of the Day.



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SPEECH

By His Excellency, Dr. V. K. WELLINGTON KOO

Chinese Ambassador to France

First Delegate of China

to the XVIIIth Assembly of the League of Nations.

September 15th, 1937

In the general discussion of the Secretary-General's annual report in the past, it has been a custom for the delegates to refer to the important events of world interest or international concern taking place in the year under review. Following this custom I wish to invite your attention to a situation of the gravest kind which has recently arisen in the Far East. Indeed I feel it my duty to inform you of it because of its utmost gravity pregnant with dire consequences to the peace of the world.

Since two months ago my country has been once more subjected to armed aggression from Japan. The Japanese Government has despatched to China more than 300,000 troops, scores of warships, and hundreds of military aeroplanes in pursuit of political domination and territorial conquest. The Japanese Army, equipped with the most deadly instruments of war, has attacked and occupied Tientsin, Peiping, Nankow and Kalgan in the North, and is continuing to penetrate further into the interior of the country. In the South it has been attempting, with the aid of Japan's mighty fleet, to seize Shanghai, the great metropolis of the Far East. The Japanese Navy has declared an illegal blockade of the entire coast of China and the Japanese warplanes have systematically been carrying out air raids on cities and towns in thirteen provinces, some of which lie hundreds of miles inland. China, notwithstanding all her handicaps, has found herself obliged to resist this renewed armed invasion. A bitter conflict between the ruthless invaders who wish to impose their will by force and the determined defenders who wish to save their country and protect their people is raging at this very moment. Peace has been and remains gravely disturbed.

The systematic destruction of life and property by the Japanese invaders has been appalling. I do not wish to weary you with details but let me emphasize the horrible character of the deliberate attacks by Japanese warplanes on unarmed civilians.

In Tientsin the most crowded parts of the Chinese city were bombed for no reason other than to terrorize the civilians. The sight of the mangled bodies and the cries of the maimed and wounded were so sickening to the hearts of the foreign Red Cross doctors that they voiced their fervent wish that the Governments of the civilised Powers would make an effort to stop the carnage.

The bombing of the civilian population in the South has been even more frequent and horrible than in North China. One Japanese air raid on a Chinese railway station south of the French Concession in Shanghai killed hundreds of Chinese refugees, mostly women and children, waiting for a train to take them to their homes in the interior of the country for safety. The place was not a military base, nor were there troops present.

Here is a brief description of a foreign witness, the correspondent of the *Daily Mail*, who cabled to his paper under date of September 9th, less than a week ago: "The shrieks and cries of Chinese mothers rent the air yesterday at Sunkiang, near Shanghai, as, with tear-filled eyes and dazed mien, they stumbled among the charred wreckage of a bombed refugee train, hunting for the mangled corpses of their children. At least three hundred people were killed and 400 more wounded when Japanese warplanes swooped down and bombed the train wrecking five carriages."

The bombing of the unprotected city of Changshu, 80 miles from the coast,

killed 2,000 civilians. Nanking, the capital, has been subjected to almost daily raids by the Japanese air force, levying a frightful toll of deaths among the civilian population.

The systematic burning and demolition of schools, colleges, hospitals, Red Cross units and other cultural and humanitarian centres is sheer vandalism. As an illustration, let me refer to the case of Nankai University, one of the largest and best known private endowed educational institutions in North China. Japanese artillery wantonly turned its fire on the buildings of the University and Japanese warplanes dropped incendiary bombs on them. When the Japanese military authorities saw that the concrete structures had not been entirely razed to the ground, they burned them with oil and blew them up with dynamite.

As a result of the Japanese making use of the International Settlement as the base of their military operations to attack the Chinese in Shanghai, foreign life and property have also suffered and are still suffering grievous losses. Scores of innocent foreigners have been killed or wounded. Foreign ships of commerce and war have been hit and damaged by bombs or shrapnels. Foreign plants, mills, warehouses and office buildings have been occupied by Japanese troops. Seventy thousand foreign residents have been obliged to evacuate the city. The illegal blockade of the Chinese coast proclaimed by the Japanese fleet has been interfering with foreign as well as Chinese ships entering Chinese ports for lawful trade. The menace of Japanese aggression to life and property has been so serious that even the Ambassador of a great and friendly Power travelling on business in a private automobile at a distance of 50 miles from Shanghai was bombed and machine-gunned by two Japanese warplanes.

In a word, the situation in the Far East to-day is one of the gravest character. Japan in the grip of a ruthless war party has openly resorted to force as an instrument of policy and let loose its gigantic and powerful war machine to seek domination and conquest of China on the Asiatic mainland.

It may be asked what were the circumstances which had led to the outbreak of the present hostilities between China and Japan. A full answer is given in two statements which the Chinese Government sent to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations on August 30th and September 12th, and which have been distributed to the Governments of the Member States of the League and to the Advisory Committee of the Assembly on the Far Eastern situation, including the United States. It is unnecessary for me to go into details here: let me merely point out the fact that the Lukouchiao incident, which the Japanese seized as a pretext for starting large-scale military operations in North China, was not much different from many other incidents of Japanese provocation, including the one by which the Japanese claimed to justify their attack on Mukden in the night of September 18th, 1931, and their subsequent occupation of whole Manchuria.

Briefly, the facts are these. In the evening of July 7th Japanese troops held illegal manoeuvres at Lukouchiao, a railway junction of strategic importance ten miles south of Peiping, where their presence could not be defended under any existing treaty or agreement. Alleging that one of their soldiers was missing, the Japanese troops demanded after midnight to enter an adjacent garrisoned city of Wanping to conduct a search. When permission was refused by Chinese authorities, the Japanese suddenly opened an attack on Wanping with infantry and artillery forces. When the Chinese garrison offered resistance in self-defence the Japanese at once resorted to large-scale operations against the Chinese troops in order, to quote their own words, "to punish the Chinese army" and to "uphold the Japanese prestige."

From that moment on the Chinese local authorities made repeated efforts to effect a peaceful settlement with Japan and, though the responsibility did not rest with Chinese authorities, went out of their way to accept the Japanese demands for an apology, punishment of the officers involved in the conflict and guarantee against recurrence of similar incidents, the replacement of Chinese regular troops at designated points by the Peace-Preservation Corps, and effective suppression of the so-called anti-Japanese and Communist organisations in Hopei Province.

The Chinese Government itself repeatedly proposed simultaneous withdrawal

of Chinese and Japanese troops. Seeing that Japan insisted upon the so-called non-interference on its part in the local settlement, it went so far in the interest of peace as to refrain from raising objections to its terms. But each concession and every act of forbearance on the part of the Chinese Government or the local authorities was taken by the Japanese military authorities as a sign of weakness and fear and was followed by sending more Japanese troops to Hopei Province for the purpose of pressing forward the plan of conquering North China.

The real object of the Japanese policy was disclosed when the Japanese Army, after large reinforcements had arrived, attacked and occupied not only Tientsin but also Peiping, the ancient capital and the leading cultural centre of China. No sooner had they effected their occupation of these two principal cities in North China than they extended their operations into southern Hopei and northward into Chahar Province. Fierce attacks were made on the strategic Nankow Pass and Kalgan, an important city north of the Great Wall. To-day the Japanese troops in North China total more than 200,000 strong and are continuing their invasion southward, northward and westward into the interior.

In the hope of coercing the Chinese Government into submission, Japan has invaded Shanghai, the financial and economic centre of China, as she did in 1932 following her occupation of Manchuria. Here again, in order to have a pretext the Japanese naval authorities provoked an incident on August 9th. One Japanese naval officer and one Japanese seaman attempted to approach the Chinese military aerodrome in the suburb of Shanghai in spite of the Chinese warning. When they were stopped by a Chinese guard, a clash took place in which the two Japanese and a member of the Chinese Peace Preservation Corps were killed.

While the Chinese local authorities immediately proposed a settlement through diplomatic channels, the Japanese Navy concentrated thirty warships in Shanghai within forty-eight hours and increased their naval forces by several thousand marines. On August 13th, four days after the incident, the Japanese naval forces, both ashore and afloat, using the International Settlement as a base for operations, attacked the Chinese districts of Kiangwan and Chapei. In defence of her territory and independence China has been obliged, here as in North China, to resist force with force.

The incidents, which appeared to have been the immediate causes of the armed conflict in North China and in Shanghai, are referred to here only for the reason that they have been exploited by the Japanese as convenient pretexts for resorting to armed aggression against China. In both these places where hostilities have been raging in the past weeks, the original incidents were provoked by the Japanese and have since been forgotten by them. If these had not taken place, others would have been created by them.

The important fact is that Japan has been pursuing a fixed program of territorial expansion on the Asiatic mainland, and consecrates the use of force as an instrument to achieve her policy. When the Japanese Army was attacking and occupying Manchuria in 1931, the official spokesman of Japan sought to justify the action by claiming that these three Chinese provinces constituted Japan's life-line essential to her security. When the military occupation of this vast region was completed, Japanese military authorities deemed it necessary to seize Jehol in order to ensure the security of Manchuria. No sooner had they occupied Jehol than North China, Chahar and Suiyuan became the life-line of the Japanese Empire. In the name of assuring strategic and economic security for Japan, the Japanese Army has started a large scale military campaign on China in these regions for the obvious purpose of domination and conquest. The lust for territorial aggrandizement has been the real motive behind all her military adventures.

It has often been claimed that the pressure of over-population in Japan, increasing at the rate of 800,000 souls a year, has driven her to seek new territories as an outlet. This is, however, only a pretext put forward to enlist sympathy and confound public opinion abroad. Forty years of control of Formosa induced less than a quarter of a million of Japanese immigrants to settle there. Korea, thirty years after her conquest and annexation by Japan,

has only 500,000 Japanese residents. For a quarter of a century Japan has been exercising a predominant influence in South Manchuria, and yet hardly 300,000 Japanese have chosen to live there, and a considerable part of this number is composed of the military forces, railway guards, the employees of the South Manchuria Railway and the Japanese Consular service. The truth is that the density of population per square mile in Japan is not as great as some countries in Europe, notably Belgium, nor does it equal the density of a Chinese Province like Hopei. And the Japanese people themselves, on account of the highly industrialized state of their own country, do not feel the necessity of leaving their homes and settling abroad.

The fact that Japan lacks raw materials within the borders of her Empire and depends upon supplies from abroad is certainly no justification for resorting to armed aggression against a peaceful neighbor. Besides, most of her needs are supplied not from China but principally from other countries such as cotton from the United States, oil from America and the Netherland Indies, iron from India and Malaya, wool from Australia, and wood-pulp from Canada and the Scandinavian countries. As to coal and soya beans of Manchuria, the former had already been under Japan's control and the latter had always been available to her in the open market before its occupation by her armed forces.

China, on her part, had on more than one occasion demonstrated her willingness and readiness to enter into economic co-operation with Japan, but the Chinese good intentions have always been frustrated by the Japanese policy of the mailed fist. It is Japan's preference to plunder at the point of the pistol to cordial co-operation between two free and equal partners which has destroyed the prospect of an economic understanding between the two countries.

There are not lacking in Japan liberal-minded statesmen who see clearly that the future of their country lies in peaceful collaboration with other nations, more particularly with her neighbors in Asia, but public opinion as well as the Press have been muzzled for a long time by the war clan. It is not unnatural that after several series of political assassinations, Japanese statesmen are terror-stricken and no longer attempt to lift their voice and make it heard.

Japan is once more in the grip of the war party which revels in keeping the people in a fearful state of war psychosis in order to usurp political power at home and achieve territorial conquest abroad. It exalts Might and recognises no Right except that which is backed by the sword; it glorifies war as an instrument of empire-building. Its idea of peace in the Far East is the "Pax Japonica", and its conception of order, abject acceptance of Japanese domination.

What will be the consequence and effect of this endless Japanese armed aggression in China? To answer this, it is necessary to understand that this policy aims not only at the political domination and conquest of China, but also at the elimination of foreign interests wherever the Japanese sword holds sway and the eventual expulsion of Europe and America from their territorial possessions in Asia.

This statement is not made here with a view to alarming you but it is borne out in public declarations of Japanese statesmen and in the secret documents in the Japanese archives. The expedition of the Western nations in Formosa and Korea, and now in Manchuria and Jehol has given ample warning in the past. European and American interests are already feeling the menace from the occupation of Tientsin and Peiping by the Japanese Army. If Japan should succeed in her attempt to dominate Shanghai as well, the end of the vast financial and commercial interests there of Europe and America could be easily foreseen.

It is clear that China, in vigorously resisting Japanese aggression is not only trying to defend her own territory and sovereignty, but in effect also to safeguard the rights and interests of the foreign Powers within her borders. If China's efforts should fail for want of adequate support from this great institution dedicated to the cause of peace and security among nations or from those foreign Powers whose special as well as general interests in the circumstances are common with her own, then the menace of Japanese aggression will soon fall upon them

and the burden of defence will have to be borne by themselves.

To-day Japan still bemoans the fact that her national resources are unequal to her appetite for conquest and handicap her ambition to be the warlord of Asia. If the day should come, which God forbid, when she would be able to lay her hands even on a great part of what China possesses in man-power and natural resources, then she would feel herself so much stronger as to challenge the treaty rights and territorial possessions of Europe and America in the South Seas and the Pacific as well as on the mainland of Asia. History bears testimony to the fact that the ambition for territorial conquests rises in proportion as the means to achieve it grow just as the human appetite for food increases as the power of digestion strengthens.

The effect of continued Japanese aggression, however, is not limited to the menace to the territorial integrity and political independence of China, nor to the injury to the material interests of a few foreign Powers. The moral and spiritual aspect of the situation is equally, if not more, significant. It is a challenge to law and order in international relations which have taken three centuries to establish for the common benefit of the community of nations. Such chaos, if prolonged for want of timely checks, will nullify all the past work and present efforts to organise peace and security, and throw the entire world into the pandemonium of a general conflagration with all its horrors of killing and destruction.

In the face of this extraordinary situation, what should be done? Can international law and treaty obligations be always disregarded with impunity? Do we accept lawlessness as inevitable, and are we prepared to see it extend its tenacles unchecked to destroy peace and order in the world? It seems to me that something can be done if we ourselves still respect the treaties we have signed and the Covenant which we have solemnly declared to uphold.

For one thing this policy of continued armed aggression in flagrant violation of international law and treaty obligations should be clearly denounced. As our honorable President has alluded to in his brief but eloquent address, in the supremacy of law lies the sole escape from the anarchy of force. For another thing, the illegal blockade of the coast of China jeopardizing the established rights of navigation and commerce should be expressly repudiated. It is the thin end of the wedge against the time-honored principle of the freedom of the seas.

Furthermore, I hope that the horrors of deliberate and indiscriminate bombing from the air by the Japanese warplanes of Chinese and foreign non-combatants in disregard of the sanctity of civilian life have not escaped your attention and that every voice will be lifted in this Assembly to condemn its practise. As the recent British note sent by Mr. Eden to the Japanese Government has given expression to a universal feeling in the civilized world, the practise is, to use the words of the note itself, "as illegal as it is inhuman", because it constitutes a failure "to draw that clear distinction between combatants and non-combatants in the conduct of hostilities which international law no less than the conscience of mankind has always enjoined".

It may be claimed that the times are difficult and that there are preoccupations in Europe where the situation is anything but reassuring. But the situation in Europe to-day is really not unconnected with the situation in the Far East. It is a natural consequence of the failure to enforce the obligations of the Covenant at the time of the Manchurian crisis before the League. Peace is indivisible; and its maintenance is of no common interest to us all. As recently stated by the Secretary of State of the great Republic of the United States, "Any situation in which armed hostilities are in progress or threatened is a situation in which the rights and interests of all nations are or may be affected." Our own Covenant says: "Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League." These statements are not mere academic assertions but are based upon the practical experience of great statesmen and diplomats. If the problem of the Far East created by the repeated Japanese

aggression is satisfactorily solved by the application of the principles of the Covenant, it is bound to have a most salutary effect upon Europe and will pave the way for an equally satisfactory solution of its own problem.

The League of Nations embodies an ideal and represents an order of international life which must be made to prevail if nations are to feel a sense of security and the world is to be a livable place for all. It is the only priceless issue of the great ordeal of the world which took place twenty years ago, which engulfed so many million human souls, and which has entailed generations of suffering and a train of problems from which the world has not yet fully recovered.

The principle of collective security, which underlies the Covenant and which we have all accepted, is beyond question the only logical and sound basis for any system of organised peace in the world. It is the same principle which has enabled every modern State to evolve peace and maintain order within its borders. International life, if it is to be blessed with peace and order, no less depends upon the full application of this principle.

I hope it will be generally realized that self-interest in the maintainance of peace as well as considerations of justice and the conscience of mankind, dictate that we should co-operate fully and sincerely to devise ways and means to check armed aggression and reduce lawlessness wherever they arise in the world. It is in the loyal and joint discharge of our obligations under the Covenant and other treaties to which we are parties that lies the hope of extinguishing the conflagration in the Far East and reinforcing the peace of the Pacific and Europe.

The rapid success of the Nyon Conference dealing with the Mediterranean problem, though limited in membership, is a striking example of what could be done where there was a will to co-operate.

In short, the Far Eastern situation, on account of its utmost gravity, calls for urgent action by the League. The Chinese Government has formally appealed to the Council, invoking articles 10, 11 and 17 of the Covenant. It is now for the Council to decide whether to proceed itself to consideration and action at once or to seize the Assembly of the question at the same time or to refer it first to the Advisory Committee on the Sino-Japanese conflict set up by the Assembly on February 24th, 1933.

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Some Questions Answered on the Chinese-Japanese Situation

By
HIS EXCELLENCY
DR. CHENGTING T. WANG
Chinese Ambassador to the United States

Interview granted by the Chinese Ambassador to Mr. Wallace Werble, representative of the Transradio Press Service, on August 25, 1937, at 5:00 P. M.
Conversation was recorded for Broadcast through Radio Stations affiliated with the Transradio Press Service.

(1) QUESTION:

Mr. Ambassador, what is China's long-time objective in the Far East?

ANSWER:

China's objective, as regards her foreign relations, can be summarized in one word and that is "independence." China believes in the maintainance of friendly and cordial relations with other nations on a footing of complete equality and reciprocity. She desires to promote international commerce and trade but without any political strings attached thereto. She advocates, with the Government of the United States as expressed by Secretary of State Hull, "maintainance of peace," "national and international self-restraint" and abstinence by all nations from use of force in pursuit of policy and from interference in the internal affairs of other nations."

(2) QUESTION:

Do you think, Mr. Ambassador, the present Chinese situation will have any effect on this long-time objective?

ANSWER:

Decidedly. That the present situation in China as created by Japan shatters the beliefs and hopes of China, which I have just described, is beyond a shadow of a doubt. Japanese aggressions in China not only destroy the basic principles of international intercourse as cherished by my Government, but also are in direct opposition to the peaceful intentions of other governments which share such views. We can not expect real peace in the world unless such aggressions will be completely suppressed.

(3) QUESTION:

Tell me, Mr. Ambassador, what is all the fighting about. Please tell me something about the background and the immediate cause of it all.

ANSWER:

This question requires an elaborate discourse on the recent history of the Far East, which, however, times does not permit. To put the matter succinctly, the fighting which is raging in China on four fronts, is actuated by two diametrically opposite motives: on the part of Japan it is an undeclared war for national aggrandizement and territorial expansion; while for China it is arm¹ resistance for the preservation of her national existence and independence. The whole issue, then, can be called "jingoism versus national self-determination."

Ostensibly the present trouble was caused by the "incident" at Lukouchiao, or the Marco Polo Bridge, a little more than nine miles from Peiping on July 7th; but, as a matter of fact, it was originated from a territorial design on China, premeditated and thoroughly considered. The Japanese policy in China is generally known as the Continental Policy which has many essential attributes,

such as economic penetration, paramount influence and political control, and territorial expansion. The application of the several aspects of this policy individually or otherwise varies with circumstances; the question as to which aspects to be applied, to which part or parts of China, and when to apply them, are matters of discretion with the Japanese militarists, which are conditioned on China's internal affairs in particular and on the international situation as a whole. The moment the Japanese militarists have decided on a certain course of action, the whole strength of the Japanese army and navy is directed towards the commitments Japan has undertaken and defying the judgment of the world.

For many years Japan has pursued in China the policy of political control by means of economic penetration and diplomatic pressure, supported by military force. The use of force to secure concessions both of an economic and a political character is adequately illustrated in the actions of Japan in Manchuria since the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, in Shantung Province during the European War, and in the presentation of the Twenty-one Demands on China in 1915.

During the last six years, however, Japan's policy in China has been directed to an even more aggressive course—that of territorial expansion. To that end she has come to rely more on direct actions, substantiated by her powerful army and navy, instead of supplementing her policy by diplomacy as had hitherto been the case.

The outstanding strategy that Japan has employed in recent years is the creation in a systematic manner of "incidents" in various parts of China. As soon as an incident is brought about, there follows invariably a display of force and the insistence on her part either on a local settlement so as to exclude the Central Government of China from the negotiations, or on direct negotiation between the two countries with a view to preventing the good offices of friendly Powers and to avoiding the existing international machineries for peace.

By creating purposely the "Mukden Incident" of September 18th, 1931, Japan has since then occupied the three north-eastern provinces and Jehol, and created therein a puppet state, the so-called "Manchukuo." She then marched her invading armies southward across the Great Wall and set up forcibly another bogus regime in the eastern part of Hopei Province in which is situated Peiping, the old capital of China.

At the present stage the ambition of Japan is to bring about a consolidation of her control over five more provinces in North China and to form another bogus regime on the order of the puppet state of "Manchukuo." To materialize this design, the Japanese Army on July 7th created an "incident" at Lukouchiao (Marco Polo Bridge), where it has no right whatsoever to station troops or to hold manœuvres.

To further aggravate the tense situation in the north of China, Japan resorted to striking again in Shanghai, the economic and financial center of China and an international metropolitan city with a population of upwards of three million and a half, as she did in February 1932. The method she employed is again that of creating "incidents."

On July 26th, Japanese naval authorities in Shanghai claimed that a seaman, named Miyazaki, was abducted by the Chinese and using that as a pretext, strongly reinforced her naval landing forces in Shanghai and mobilized for action after several military demonstrations. But on the 28th, the seaman was found by a Chinese fisherman on the Yangtse River to which he had escaped from a British boat. Testifying before the Chinese and Japanese authorities, Miyazaki confessed that his disappearance was entirely voluntary in order to escape punishment by his superior officers for his habitual patronage of houses of ill fame.

Realizing the futility of this pretext, the Japanese naval authorities forced an "incident" by sending repeatedly armed men in motor vehicles to the Chinese airdrome at Hungjao, until on August 9th they did precipitate a clash, resulting in the death of one Chinese police and two Japanese seamen. Negotiation for a diplomatic settlement definitely fell to the ground on August 14th when the

Japanese attacked Chinese positions.

(4) QUESTION:

Is there some way to settle the present situation peacefully?

ANSWER:

Yes, if Japan gives up her policy of aggression and aggrandizement in China. The whole situation depends on Japan. My Government has repeatedly informed the Japanese Government that it is prepared to settle all the issues between the two countries by any pacific means known to international law and practice, but such suggestions receive no response.

(5) QUESTION:

Mr. Ambassador, what could the world Powers do to help the cause of peace in the Far East?

ANSWER:

I am not in a position to speak for the world Powers, but I wish to call attention to the existence of certain international conventions applicable to the present situation in China, such as the Kellogg Peace Pact, the Nine-Power Treaty of Washington, and the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The Kellogg Peace Pact imposes on its contracting parties certain obligations. It is in this Pact that nations of the world formally renounced war as an instrument of national policy and solemnly agreed that they should settle all their differences by pacific means. Japan's aggressive actions in China clearly violate the spirit and letter of this Peace Pact and should therefore be so judged by the other nations of the world.

The Nine-Power Treaty of Washington is also directly applicable to the situation; it stipulates, among other things, that "the Contracting Powers, other than China, agree to respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China." Japan by seizing large areas of Chinese territory, and other illegal actions has broken her solemn pledge. A situation has certainly arisen, calling for the application of the stipulations of this Treaty by means of frank discussion and full communication among the Contracting Powers.

In the Covenant of the League of Nations we find a more comprehensive machinery for international peace. In Article X of this Covenant "the Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League." Japan has undoubtedly violated the provisions of the Covenant in her aggressive acts repeatedly committed against China. I share the views with the enlightened jurists of the world that the objective test should be applied in the interpretation of the Covenant, and that a state, which has committed acts against another state which are such as characterize a war, should be judged by the League to have "resorted to war" or to have committed an "act of war" as those terms are used in the Covenant. In such a case the Covenant provides sanctions as stipulated in Article XVI.

It may be said that Japan is no longer a member of the League, because she withdrew from it in order to get out of its juridically binding resolutions and reports. I wish, however, to point out that it is required of any member of the League to fulfill all its international obligations under the Covenant before it could withdraw from the League. And Japan has not fulfilled all her obligations. Even let us grant that Japan is no longer a member of the League, Article XVII of the Covenant can still be invoked as an instrument for international peace.

In view of all these procedures together with the ordinary means for the pacific settlement of international disputes as developed in international law and practice, my Government and I see no reason why the world Powers can not make themselves instrumental for the cause of peace in the Far East.

Extracts from President Roosevelt's Speech at Chicago, Oct. 5, 1937

EDITOR'S NOTE: President Roosevelt characterizes the present world situation as one in which "civilians, including women and children, are being ruthlessly murdered with bombs from the air" . . . He declares that the acts of of "aggressor nations" involve the "definite violations . . . of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Briand-Kellogg Pact, and the Nine Power Treaty". He calls on the peace-loving nations to "make a concerted effort in opposition to those violations of treaties and those ignorings of humane instincts which today are creating a state of international anarchy and instability from which there is no escape through mere isolation or neutrality."

Other parts of his epoch-making and statesmanlike speech follow:

It is because the people of the United States under modern conditions must, for the sake of their own future, give thought to the rest of the world, that I, as the responsible executive head of the Nation, have chosen this great inland city and this gala occasion to speak to you on a subject of definite national importance.

The political situation in the world, which of late has been growing progressively worse, is such as to cause grave concern and anxiety to all the peoples and nations who wish to live in peace and amity with their neighbors.

Some 15 years ago the hopes of mankind for a continuing era of international peace were raised to great heights when more than 60 nations solemnly pledged themselves not to resort to arms in furtherance of their national aims and policies. The high aspirations expressed in the Briand-Kellogg peace pact and the hopes for peace thus raised have of late given way to a haunting fear of calamity. The present reign of terror and international lawlessness began a few years ago.

It began through unjustified interference in the internal affairs of other nations or the invasion of alien territory in violations of treaties, and has now reached a stage where the very foundations of civilization are seriously threatened. The landmarks and traditions which have marked the progress of civilization toward a condition of law, order and justice are being wiped away.

Without a declaration of war and without warning or justification of any kind civilians, including women and children, are being ruthlessly murdered with bombs from the air. In times of so-called peace, ships are being attacked and sunk by submarines without cause or notice. Nations are fomenting and taking sides in civil warfare in nations that have never done them any harm. Nations, claiming freedom for themselves, deny it to others.

Innocent peoples and nations are being cruelly sacrificed to a greed for power and supremacy which is devoid of all sense of justice and humane consideration.

To paraphrase a recent author "perhaps we foresee a time when men, exultant in the technique of homicide, will rage so hotly over the world that every precious thing will be in danger, every book and picture and harmony, every treasure garnered through two millenniums, the small, the delicate, the defenceless—all will be lost or wrecked or utterly destroyed."

If those things come to pass in other parts of the world, let no one imagine that America will escape, that it may expect mercy, that this Western Hemisphere will not be attacked and that it will continue tranquilly and peacefully to carry on the ethics and the arts of civilization.

If those days come "there will be no safety by arms, no help from authority, no answer in science. The storm will rage till every flower of culture is trampled and all human beings are leveled in a vast chaos."

If those days are not to come to pass—if we are to have a world in which we can breathe freely and live in amity without fear—the peace-loving nations

must make a concerted effort to uphold laws and principles on which alone peace can rest secure.

The peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort in opposition to those violations of treaties and those ignorings of humane instincts which today are creating a state of international anarchy and instability from which there is no escape through mere isolation or neutrality.

Those who cherish their freedom and recognize and respect the equal right of their neighbors to be free and live in peace must work together for the triumph of law and moral principles in order that peace, justice and confidence may prevail in the world. There must be a return to a belief in the pledged word, in the value of a signed treaty. There must be a recognition of the fact that national morality is as vital as private morality.

There is a solidarity and interdependence about the modern world, both technically and morally, which makes it impossible for any nation completely to isolate itself from economic and political upheavals in the rest of the world, especially when such upheavals appear to be spreading and not declining. There can be no stability or peace either within nations or between nations except under laws and moral standards adhered to by all. International anarchy destroys every foundation for peace. It jeopardizes either the immediate or the future of every nation, large or small. It is, therefore, a matter of vital interest and concern to the people of the United States that the sanctity of international treaties and the maintenance of international morality be restored.

I am compelled and you are compelled, nevertheless, to look ahead. The peace, the freedom and the security of 90 per cent of the population of the world is being jeopardized by the remaining 10 per cent who are threatening a breakdown of all international order and law. Surely the 90 per cent who want to live in peace under the law and in accordance with moral standards that have received almost universal acceptance through the centuries, can and must find some way to make their will prevail.

The situation is definitely of universal concern. The questions involved relate not merely to violations of specific provisions of particular treaties; they are questions of war and of peace, of international law and especially of principles of humanity. *It is true that they involve definite violations of agreements, and especially of the covenant of the League of Nations, the Briand-Kellogg pact and the nine-power treaty. But they also involve problems of world economy, world security and world humanity.*

It is true that the moral consciousness of the world must recognize the importance of removing injustices and well-founded grievances; but at the same time it must be aroused to the cardinal necessity of honoring sanctity of treaties, of respecting the rights and liberties of others and of putting an end to acts of international aggression.

It seems to be unfortunately true that the epidemic of world lawlessness is spreading.

When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread, the community approves and joins in a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of the disease.

War is a contagion, whether it be declared or undeclared. It can engulf states and peoples remote from the original scene of hostilities. We are determined to keep out of war, yet we cannot insure ourselves against the disastrous effects of war and the dangers of involvement. We are adopting such measures as will minimize our risk of involvement but we cannot have complete protection in a world of disorder in which confidence and security have broken down

If civilization is to survive, the principles of the Prince of Peace must be restored. Shattered trust between nations must be revived.

Most important of all, the will for peace on the part of peace-loving nations must express itself to the end that nations that may be tempted to violate their agreements and the rights of others will desist from such a cause. There must be positive endeavors to preserve peace.

America hates war. America hopes for peace. Therefore, America actively engages in the search for peace.

A Reply to Some Japanese Arguments

By VICTOR K. KWONG

The assertion that China is responsible for the present hostilities in the Far East because of her alleged "anti-Japanese policy" is a myth which exists only in the fantastic imagination of the Japanese and their apologists.

On the other hand, it is a historical and objective fact that Japan, despite solemn pledges to the contrary, has successively taken from China Formosa, Korea, Kwantung Peninsula, Manchuria, Jehol, and parts of North China. These territorial gains by Japan at the expense of China stare us in the face every day. They constitute definite and glaring sign-posts along the road of Japanese greed and expansion in China which no amount of Japanese propaganda can efface from the map of the world, and the conscience of mankind.

Japan claims that her investments of \$1,400,000,000 are jeopardized by China. But Japan's investments are matched by Great Britain's \$1,250,000,000, and the United States, France, and other nations have vast interests in China. None of these nations has complained of any danger to their investments as far as China is concerned. Japan stands alone in her wild but unconvincing cries of being the endangered one.

On the contrary, these other nations have repeatedly protested to Japan that it is her actions in China which constitute a menace to their legitimate investments and the maintenance of peace and stability in China.

This is further reinforced and made crystal-clear by the condemnation by the League of Nations and the United States of Japan's actions in Manchuria (1931) and in the present situation. Certainly the 52 nations of the League and the United States can well represent the conscience of mankind; and in a united voice, mankind condemns Japan as guilty of violating the Kellogg-Briand Anti-War Pact and the Nine-Power Treaty.

As for the other myth that China is a hot-bed of radicalism and communism, let me point out the well-known fact that the Chinese Government, under the vigorous leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, carried on a relentless campaign of suppression against Communism in China during the last ten years. With the danger of Japanese aggression rapidly approaching a critical stage when China's very national existence was at stake, the small band of Chinese Soviets realized that, since they are Chinese citizens first, last, and all the time, their greatest duty was to join hands with the Government to resist the foreign foe. Accordingly, they voluntarily abandoned their former objectives, dissolved their organization, and placed themselves under the command of the national leader Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek as patriotic Chinese citizens ready to make the supreme sacrifice on the field of battle in defense of the land of their forefathers.

While Japan claims she is fighting to save the Chinese people from their warlords and Communists, all the world knows this is hollow mockery. And all the world applauds China for her valiant fight to save China for the Chinese, and to uphold the sanctity of international treaties and the imperishable ideals of humanity. This mockery is illustrated by the every-day incidents taking place in China. While Japan claims she is fighting for the salvation of the Chinese people, her aerial bombs are killing thousands of innocent civilians, men, women, children, in widely-scattered parts of China. Japan's "benevolence" has even encompassed the wounding of the British Ambassador to China; the killing of five British soldiers, and dangerous machine-gun attacks from aeroplane bombers of several parties of foreign nationals in China.

It is high time that the sane and humane leaders of Japan marshal their forces against their own militarists and save the Japanese people from these same militarists. Unless they do this themselves, outraged mankind must sooner or later find an effective way to do it for them.

Copy of Cablegram on Sino-Japanese Situation Sent by Representative Chinese Organizations

EDITOR'S NOTE—Japanese charges are again refuted by the following cablegram sent to the Chambers of Commerce in the United States by representative organizations in China:

"IN ALL DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES FREEDOM POLITICAL RELIEF IS PERMITTED SO LONG AS ARMED FORCE NOT RESORTED AS MEANS ACHIEVING POLITICAL POWER. IN THIS PERIOD GRAVE NATIONAL CRISIS CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY HAVING ABANDONED POLICY VIOLENCE AND LAND CONFISCATION HAS OPENLY DECLARED ALLEGIANCE TO DR. SUNS THREE PRINCIPLES HAS VOLUNTARILY LIQUIDATED SOVIET GOVERNMENT CHINA AND PLACED FORMER RED ARMY UNDER CENTRAL COMMAND GENERALISSIMO CHIANG KAI SHEK. THESE CONDITIONS QUITE SIMILAR THOSE PREVAIL OTHER DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES. WHAT IS BEING PRACTISED IN CHINA IN WAY OF ISSUANCE OF BONDS HAS LONG BEEN IN EFFECT ALL PROGRESSIVE COUNTRIES. IT INVOLVES NO COMPULSION WHATEVER. ON CONTRARY ALL PRIVATE PROPERTY AND ENTERPRISES BEING ACCORDED FULLEST LEGAL PROTECTION. ALL THIS WHICH IS WELL KNOWN TO FOREIGN NATIONALS RESIDENT IN CHINA IS SUFFICIENT REFUTATION TO GROUNDLESS MALICIOUS CHARGE OF JAPANESE PROPAGANDISTS THAT CHINA TURNING COMMUNISTIC A CHARGE THAT IS DELIBERATELY MADE TO MISLEAD WORLD PUBLIC OPINION AND CAMOUFLAGE JAPAN'S REAL MOTIVE OF SUBJUGATING CHINA."

CHINESE NATIONAL CHAMBER COMMERCE
SHANGHAI CHAMBER COMMERCE
CHINESE NATIONAL FEDERATION INDUSTRIES
SHANGHAI WORKERS FEDERATION
CHINESE COTTON MILL OWNERS ASSOCIATION
SHANGHAI CHINESE BANKERS ASSOCIATION
SHANGHAI NATIVE BANKERS ASSOCIATION
SHANGHAI CIVIC ASSOCIATION.

OCTOBER 21, 1937.



GENERALISSIMO CHIANG KAI-SHEK

THE COUPLE OF THE YEAR

“... for reuniting the largest and most ancient country in the world in the face of common danger; for learning perforce to unleash bombs from nowhere, planes from nowhere in a land where every gesture is a tradition; for advancing national progress and a New Life in spite of centuries of worship and changelessness, all credit belongs to the Couple of the Year. China's Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Mei-ling Chiang.”

—Charles Cassil Reynard
Girard, Ohio

(In a letter to *“TIME”*, Nov. 1, 1937)



MADAME CHIANG KAI-SHEK

“So long as we are prepared to fight to the bitter end, it will be impossible to lose. Having accepted the trust placed in me by the Government and my countrymen, I am determined to lead the nation in a fight to the last man.”

“The Government has the responsibility of defending the national territory and protecting its people. The only thing to do now is to put into operation its comprehensive plan and lead the entire nation in a struggle for protection of the nation to the bitter end.”

“Our troops have not suffered any great reverses, and even if they should suffer any we would be determined to perish with the State. Never could we compromise or surrender.”

“I am confident that final victory will be ours.”

“In the World War the women of every country gave their best. The women of China are no less patriotic or capable of physical endurance than the women of other lands. This we shall show the world.”

“Our final victory, no matter how belated it may be, will erase forever the days of humiliation which for so long have crowded our calendar and remove the sorrow which for years has rent our hearts and bowed our heads.”

“But one thought is dominant—that is, to fight until we can fight no more.”

Henry L. Stimson Again Denounces Japanese Aggression

EDITOR'S NOTE: In a letter written to the "New York Times", Henry L. Stimson, former Secretary of State and originator of the "Stimson Doctrine" bares the facts of Japanese aggression in China, and tells what the world should do about it. Extracts from the letter follow:

To the Editor of the "New York Times":

In general Japan is trying to take control of the development of modern China and to twist its form and nature to suit her own aims, both political and economic. She is trying to develop China in a way which is the exact opposite of the purpose and policy of the open door and the nine-power treaty. Japan makes no secret of this. We do not have to guess. We have a perfectly frank exposition of her plan in what she has already done in Manchukuo and North China.

But that is very far from saying that the only alternative is inaction or a passive and shameful acquiescence. The lamentable fact is that today the aggression of Japan is being actively assisted by the efforts of men of our own nation and men of the other great democracy in the world—the British commonwealth of nations. It is not only being actively assisted, but our assistance is so effective and predominant that without it even today the aggression would in all probability be promptly checked and cease.

Let me explain this and make it absolutely clear. Japan's position as a war-making nation is far from being self-contained. She is peculiarly dependent upon the outside world for her ability to attack China. While she has ample facilities for manufacturing weapons of all kinds, she is extraordinarily lacking in the raw materials with which to carry on such manufactures. In that respect she is extremely vulnerable. She has no supplies of oil worthy of the name. She has no supplies of rubber whatever. She has very little iron ore—about one-seventh of what she uses even in peace times, and she has almost no cotton.

A further peculiarity of Japan's economic condition is that she purchases her supplies of these vitally essential commodities from a very few nations and by far the principal sellers are Great Britain and ourselves. During the 18 months prior to June, 1936, she purchased 75 per cent of her oil from us and one-half of her importations of iron ore and scrap iron also came from us. During the same period over 80 per cent of her imports of raw cotton came from the United States and British India and the principal supplies of her rubber came from the British Straits Settlements.

Again in Japan's present tottering financial condition she is able to make these purchases of raw materials for her guns and ammunition only by selling enough of her own products to obtain the requisite foreign exchange to pay for her purchases.

One of these principal Japanese exports is raw silk. This is one of the most generally distributed crops of the Japanese Empire, the production of raw silk taking place in virtually every peasant home and farm. Of that crop the United States in 1935 purchased 85 per cent and in the first six months of 1936, 81 per cent; with Great Britain taking nearly all the rest. With the foreign exchange thus obtained Japan is purchasing from us, as I have said above, the raw materials for her guns.

So I say that the first glaring fact which stares us in the face in our analysis of the situation is that China's principal need is not that something should be done by outside nations to help her, but that outside nations should cease helping her enemy. Given a situation in which the supply of munitions was only

somewhat less unequal, China's bravery has already shown that Japan's task would be hopeless.

In the light of these facts, the first question that I should ask of the American and British peoples is: Does the safety of the American Nation and the safety of the British Empire require that we go on helping Japan to exterminate, by the methods she is daily employing, the gallant Chinese soldiers with whom she is confronted—not to speak of the civilian Chinese population that she is engaged in terrorizing? Is the condition of our statesmanship so pitifully inadequate that we cannot devise the simple means of international cooperation in this slaughter? I for one do not think so. I believe it can be done and done effectively without serious danger to us.

The second great fact which the present situation brings out is the deep-seated error which has pervaded recent American thinking on international matters. I have heard Theodore Roosevelt say that he put peace above everything else except righteousness. Where the two came into conflict he supported righteousness. In our recent efforts to avoid war we have reversed this principle and are trying to put peace above righteousness. We have thereby gone far toward killing the influence of our country in the progress of the world. At the same time, instead of protecting, we have endangered our own peace.

Our recent neutrality legislation attempts to impose a dead level of neutral conduct on the part of our Government between right and wrong, between an aggressor and its victim, between a breaker of the law of nations and the nations who are endeavoring to uphold the law. It won't work. Such a policy of a moral drift by such a safe and powerful nation as our own will only set back the hands of progress. It will not save us from entanglement. It will even make entanglement more certain. History has already shown this last fact.

Finally, in this grave crisis in the Far East we not only must not fear to cooperate with other nations who are similarly attempting to face those issues. The League of Nations was founded upon a covenant which almost for the first time in human history attempted to base our international civilization upon a reign of law and to make a distinction between a law-breaker and its victim. Five years ago on Japan's first aggression into Manchuria the league, while failing to stop the aggression, did not hesitate to pass judgment upon it in unmistakable language after a full investigation of its facts.

The league did not fail to distinguish between right and wrong in the Far East then, and the then American Government on February 25, 1933, did not hesitate to range itself alongside of the league in that judgment and to declare that its understandings of the facts were in accord with the findings of fact arrived at by the league and that its conclusions were in accord with the conclusions of the league.

Today on China's appeal the league again engaged in an examination of the present crisis and the formulation of its judgment thereon. Our Government should not hesitate, if the facts are as we believe them, to support the league again by a statement of its concurrence. Such a judgment is not futile. In the process of time law is built up both within and without national boundaries by such decisions and such precedents. Japan is far more friendless today before the tribunal of world opinion than she would have been except for the investigation and judgment which was rendered against her five years ago. We should not fail to take part in laying such foundations of the structure of international law of the future.

Since the writing of the foregoing letter has come the President's Chicago speech. I am filled with hope that this act of leadership on his part will result in a new birth of American courage in facing and carrying through our responsibilities in this crisis.

(Signed)

HENRY L. STIMSON.

Conquest of Asia Outlined in Detail by Late Premier Tanaka

By VICTOR K. KWONG

[Reprinted from the *San Francisco Chronicle*.]

Since the occupation of South Manchuria by the Japanese army on September 18, the "Tanaka Memorial," a Japanese document outlining Japan's policy to conquer Asia, has been given wide publicity in the Chinese press. The *China Critic*, published in Shanghai, has issued the 5470-word memorial in full. In the light of this document the Chinese people believe that it is Japan's fixed intention to bring Manchuria under her control as the first step in her more ambitious program to conquer all Asia.

The "Tanaka Memorial" was presented to the Emperor of Japan on July 25, 1927, by the late Premier Tanaka. It outlines "the positive policy" in Manchuria—meaning the policy of force. Tanaka was one of the outstanding leaders in Japan. He led the influential militant group of Japanese who dream of creating a greater Japanese empire on the mainland of Asia.

The foes this group contemplates meeting and defeating are China and Russia. Tanaka passed away recently, but his death has not left the military group any the weaker in the councils of Japan as the attack and occupation of Manchuria in September shows.

According to the memorial it is a matter of life and death for Japan to expand on continental Asia. Her annual increase in population is 700,000. Every inch of cultivatable land in Japan is already being made use of. Her own natural resources are insufficient to meet the growing demands of her ever-increasing population. She lacks iron and coal, the basic essentials for her industrial life.

For these vital needs Japan must look abroad, and she finds in Manchuria and Mongolia the promised land of milk and honey. As Tanaka says: "The attractiveness of the land does not arise from the scarcity of population alone; its wealth of forestry, minerals and agricultural products is also unrivalled elsewhere in the world. In order to exploit these resources for the perpetuation of our national glory, we created especially the South Manchurian Railway."

Tanaka realized that Japan could not take Manchuria and Mongolia without a struggle. It is taken for granted that a war with Russia is inevitable. As for Russia, Tanaka states: "That we should draw swords with Russia again in the fields of Mongolia in order to gain the wealth of North Manchuria seems a necessary step in our program of national aggrandisement."

What Manchuria and Mongolia mean to Japan may be realized from the estimates of the natural resources contained therein as made by Japanese investigators sent out by the Japanese-owned South Manchurian Railway.

According to the memorial, these investigators estimate the total reserve of timber is 200,000,000 tons, which will last Japan 200 years. With this supply, Japan expects to discontinue her purchase of timber from America, which runs into \$40,000,000 to \$50,000,000 a year.

The iron deposits in Manchuria and Mongolia are estimated at 1,200,000,000 tons; coal deposits, 2,500,000,000 tons. In the words of Tanaka: "With such large amounts of iron and coal at our disposal, we ought to be self-sufficient for at least seventy years. We shall have acquired the secret for becoming the leading nation in the world. Thus strengthened, we can conquer both the

East and the West."

The Fushun coal mine is expected to yield 350,000,000 tons of petroleum, estimated to be worth \$1,125,000,000. Again to quote Tanaka: "Having the iron and petroleum of Manchuria, our army and navy will become impregnable walls of defense."

Mention is then made of abundant supplies of valuable chemicals such as agricultural fertilizer, ammonia sulphate, soda, soda ash, magnesium and aluminum, which Japan will obtain from Manchuria and Mongolia. Produce such as oats, wheat, millet and kaoliang are also to be secured from these regions.

The memorial goes on to outline the preliminary steps necessary for the realization of this ambitious program. Koreans, who enjoy the legal status of Japanese subjects, and regular Japanese will be sent in first as immigrants, while means will be devised to check the annual influx of 1,000,000 Chinese immigrants into Manchuria. Railways will be constructed to reach every strategic military point and source of raw materials. In all, there will be 1159 miles of railroad constructed at an estimated cost of \$57,500,000.

Japanese financial advisers are to be installed as a preliminary step to gain control of the currency system, which is to be changed into a gold basis. Foreign capital in limited amounts will be encouraged in order to allay possible suspicion of Japan's actions. Finally there will be established a colonial department, the special function of which is to look after the expansion in Manchuria and Mongolia.



"Japanese Army Wars on Japan"

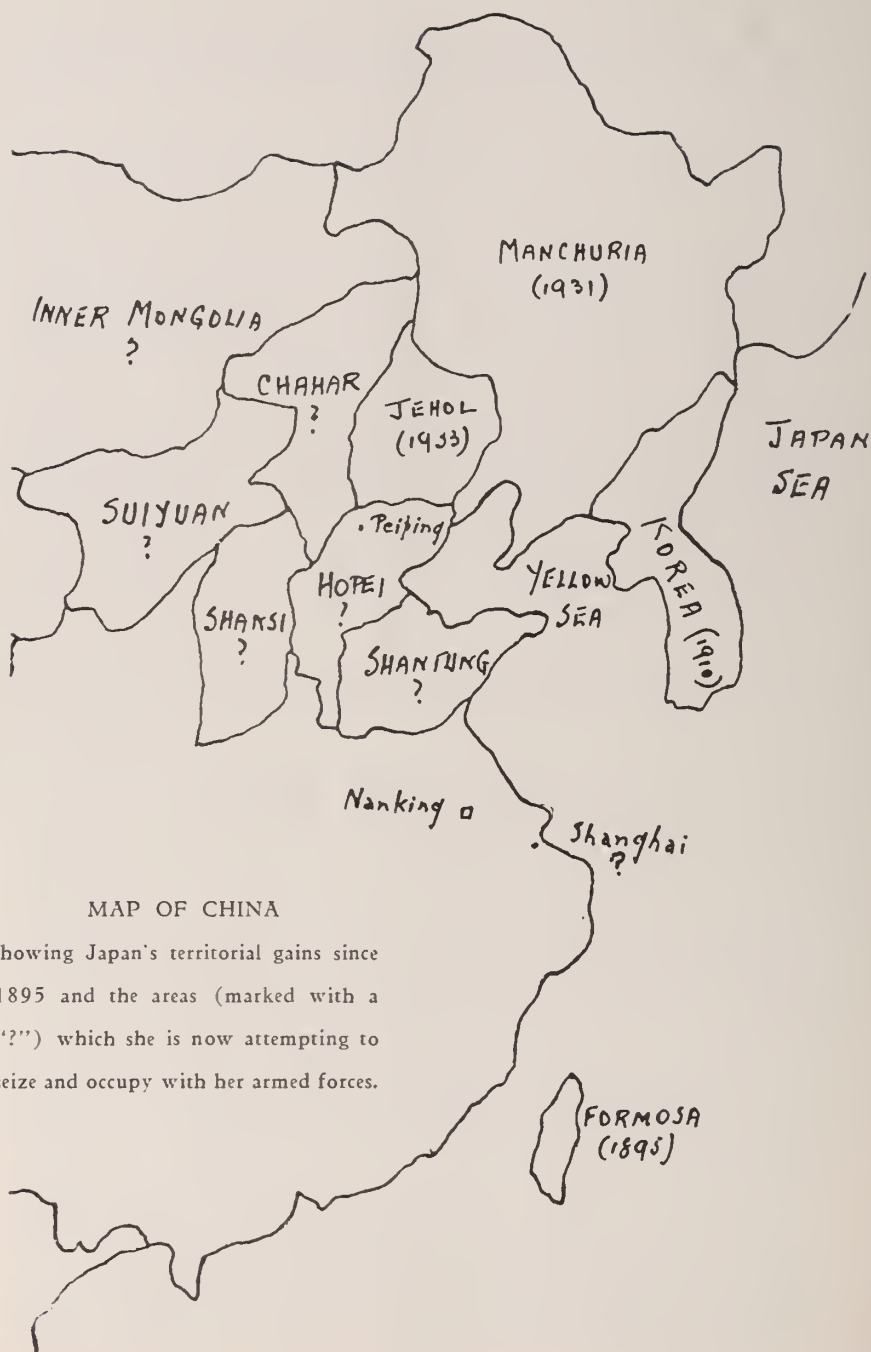
(*Chronicle*, San Francisco, Cal., August 19, 1937)

This Chinese massacre is more than a war on China or an assault on the rule of law and order among nations. It is a war by the Japanese army on the Japanese people. The people have twice voted that they do not want military control of their government and their Parliament has aggressively so declared. The business interests of Japan do not want it. The liberal statesmen do not want it. The intellectuals and scholars do not want it.

The army, unless it resorted to some coup, was in a fair way to lose that control. Once before, when its hold was slipping, it resorted to foreign war in Manchuria and twice since it has resorted to political assassination at home, murdering the liberal leaders who were opposing it. Now again it has reverted to the device of all dictatorships when they are in trouble at home, by starting a war abroad.

Foreign war is supposed to be the only thing on which a whole people will unite. Even that, however, has not fully happened this time. The only uncensored information that has come out of Japan is that this war is unpopular with the people, who have, however, been propagandized into accepting it reluctantly as an accomplished fact which they must see through.

Thus the real objective and the real victim is the people of Japan, their rights, their liberties and their self-government.



MAP OF CHINA

showing Japan's territorial gains since 1895 and the areas (marked with a "?") which she is now attempting to seize and occupy with her armed forces.

The Voice of Mankind

The Assembly of the League of Nations (consisting of 52 nations) unanimously adopted on October 6, 1937, the report of its Advisory Committee on Far Eastern Affairs.

This report declared: "The military operations carried on by Japan against China by land, sea and air are out of all proportion to the incidents which occasioned the conflict" and recommended:

1. Condemnation of Japan's "invasion as a violation of the nine-power and Kellogg-Briand peace treaties.
 2. That all League states give China whatever aid they can.
 3. That the Aga Khan, president of the assembly, convoke an emergency session of the nine-power signatories, including the United States and Japan, and other nations with vital interests in the Far East.
 4. That the assembly remain in session to deal with the crisis.
-

The Department of State of the United States declared on Oct. 6, 1937, that:

"In the light of the unfolding developments in the Far East the Government of the United States has been forced to the conclusion that the action of Japan in China is inconsistent with the principles which should govern the relationships between nations and is contrary to the provisions of the Nine Power treaty of February 6, 1922, regarding principles and policies to be followed in matters concerning China, and to those of the Kellogg-Briand pact of August 27, 1928.

"Thus the conclusions of this Government with respect to the foregoing are in general accord with those of the assembly of the League of Nations."



Boycott Japan?

LABOR TAKES UNITED ACTION AGAINST JAPANESE AGGRESSION

At Bournemouth, England, on October 4, 1937, the British Labor Party Congress, representing 8,500,000 voters, unanimously voted a boycott of Japanese goods. The resolution urged cooperation with the United States, and asked for the immediate summoning of Parliament to put a speedy end to Japan's "shameful outrages against humanity". It also declared that "British Labor views with horror the massacre of helpless Chinese people".

At Denver, Colorado, on October 15, 1937, the American Federation of Labor Convention adopted unanimously the following resolution:

"The American Federation of Labor is gravely concerned and shocked that the Chinese nation and civilization are threatened by ruthless warfare that attacks civilian population as well as armed forces," the report said in part.

"We are disturbed by the increasing lawlessness in the international field as evidenced by treaty violations. Democratic institutions in many countries have been replaced by the rule of force and the subordination of individual well being to state regimentation. With armed conflict already in progress in Europe and the Far East, the menace of another world war overshadows the civilized world.

Doesn't Solve Labor Problems

"Labor abhors war and knows only too well that war does not solve our problems. American labor does not wish to be involved in European or Asiatic wars.

"But as to the great moral issues that developed out of violation of the integrity of a nation, barbaric attacks upon defenseless citizens, disregard of the rights of others—upon these things no free people with a sense of moral obligation to those unable to protect themselves can be neutral."

The Convention unanimously reaffirmed its boycott on Japanese manufactured goods.

And at Atlantic City, New Jersey, on Oct. 15, 1937, the Conference of the Committee for Industrial Organization adopted a resolution which pledged the C. I. O. to join in a boycott of Japanese manufactured goods and condemned all aggressor nations as "vicious".

*BOYCOTT OF JAPANESE GOODS
SPREADS IN ENGLAND*



A Store in England Displays a Graphic Sign

22

Bombs Over China

(New York Times, Sept. 24, 1937)

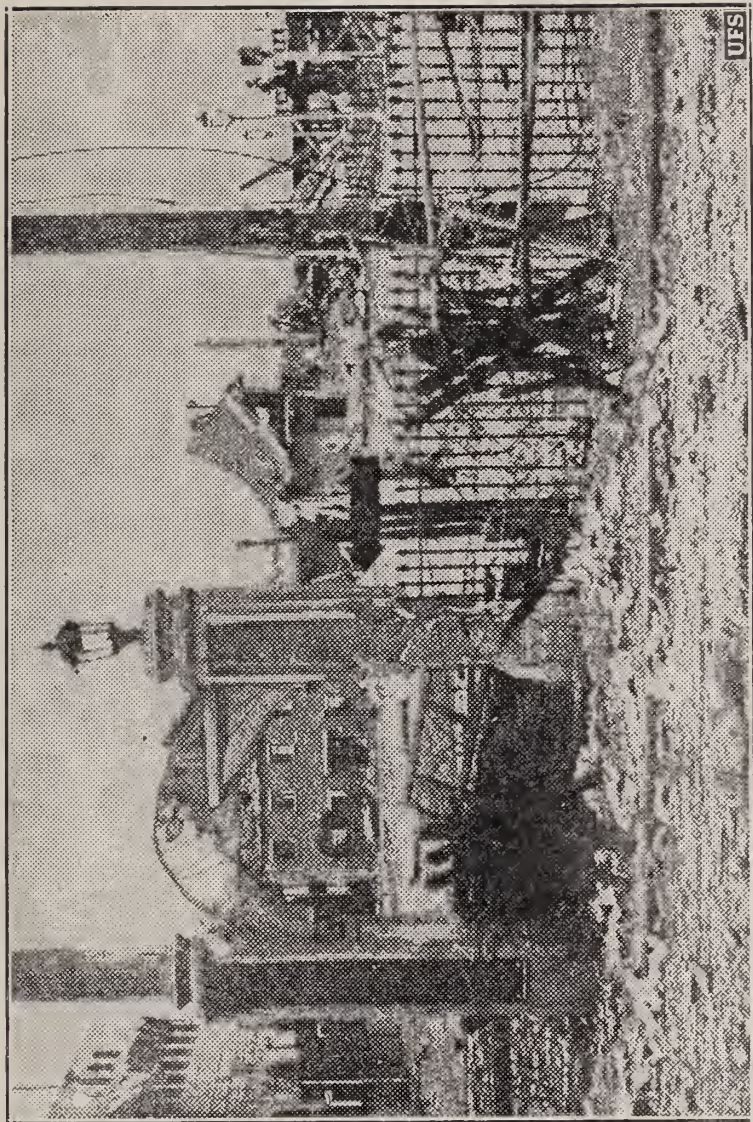
Hundreds of dead and dying Chinese, mangled by high explosives in the narrow streets of Nanking and Canton, mock the bland assurances which the Japanese Government has given to the Western nations. Replying finally, after several weeks of delay, to the protest filed in Tokyo over the wounding of the British Ambassador to China, the Japanese Government expressed its deep regret and stated that instructions had been sent again to Japanese forces "to exercise the greatest care for safeguarding non-combatants, it being the desire and policy of the Japanese Government to limit, as far as possible, the dangers to non-combatants resulting from hostilities in China." The note that gave this assurance was dispatched to the British Government on Tuesday. Less than twenty-four hours later Japanese planes were on their way to Nanking, to deal death and destruction from the air upon a helpless people. Yesterday that exploit was repeated, with even greater success, at Canton, and in the smoking ruins of the poorer quarters of that overcrowded city the Japanese air force has left proof of its efficiency.

In the protest sent by our own Government to Tokyo, after receipt of official information that Japan contemplated an air attack on Nanking, the dominating note was one of sheer incredulity. The American Government simply "could not believe," it was stated in our protest, that the proposal to subject the whole Nanking area to bombing, operations really "represents the considered intent of the Japanese Government." Such action would flatly contradict "assurances repeatedly given" by Japan that the objectives of her military operations would be limited strictly to Chinese military agencies and establishments. Aimed against "an extensive area wherein there resides a large populace engaged in peaceful pursuits," the bombing of Nanking would be "unwarranted and contrary to principles of law and of humanity." Yet it has happened.

If there is not a touch of madness in the policy upon which Japan has now embarked, what is there to explain it? These bombings of defenseless cities have been undertaken, said the spokesman of the Japanese Navy yesterday at Shanghai, "in order to bring the war to an early conclusion, and make it impossible for China to continue its anti-Japanese policies." But hundreds of headless coolies cluttering the debris-littered streets of Canton do not impair the strength of China's arms or weaken the defense of Shanghai. Lines of communication are comparatively unimportant in this struggle, and attacks from the air cannot decide the issue. Nor does fresh fuel thrown upon the blazing resentment of the Chinese people make it easier for the Chinese Government to dicker for terms with Tokyo and arrange some settlement which might "save face" in Nanking, but yield to Japan that sovereignty over the northern provinces which is apparently her objective.

The present policy of *Schrecklichkeit* is as stupid as it is brutal. Far from "making it impossible for China to continue her anti-Japanese activities," there is every reason to believe that it makes such activities inevitable, that it builds up justifiable hatred which is destined to outlast whatever conquest Japan may now have undertaken, and that it promises to destroy for many years those markets for her goods which Japan needs, above all else, in China. Meantime the protests sent to Tokyo by the British, French and other Governments, as well as our own, must remind the Japanese Government of the price which is being paid for this policy of studied frightfulness in the loss of respect by other nations. Every bomb that falls on Nanking or Canton destroys something of what remains in the Western world of friendliness and admiration for the present rulers of Japan.

“BOMBS OVER CHINA”



Ruins of Shanghai Railway Station

Believe It or Not—

In signing the Nine Power Treaty at Washington in 1922 with Great Britain, the United States, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Portugal, Japan agreed:

"1. To respect the sovereignty, the independence and the territorial and administrative integrity of China.

"2. To provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government.

"3. To use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China.

"4. To refrain from taking advantage of conditions in China in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of subjects or citizens of friendly states, and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such states."

AND ALSO—

in signing the Kellogg-Briand Anti-War Pact in 1928. Japan and the other nations of the world pledged themselves to the following:

"In the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

"The settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means".

In this connection, it is significant to note that Mr. Frank B Kellogg, whose name the Anti-War Pact bears, declared recently:

"I find that the actions of Japan in China conform neither with the spirit nor the letter of the Kellogg-Briand Anti-War Pact".

The Twenty-One Demands and the Present Japanese Aggression

By CHURCHILL T. CHIU, M. A.

Japan's intention of encroaching upon China's territorial integrity and political sovereignty has long been revealed to the world. Since Japan presented her Twenty-one Demands in 1915, there has been no question as to Nipponese policy and ambitions in China. In these Twenty-one Demands Japan asserted that she had a right to special privileges in, and control of, Manchuria, Shantung, Eastern Inner Mongolia, Fukien province, and in the Yangtse Valley. Japan even went so far as to demand that China, in the future, give no concessions on her coast to any third power without the consent of Japan, and, on top of this, she demanded that China employ Japanese political, financial, and military advisers, and Japanese policemen, thus attempting to make the Chinese subordinate itself to the will of Japan.

Comparison of these demands with recent events gives one a clear view of Japan's policy of encroachment upon her neighbor, despite repeated assurances by Japan that she has no intention of infringing upon the territorial integrity and political sovereignty of China, and that she is not a violator of the Nine Power Treaty. Here are the facts: Manchuria has been illegally occupied by the Japanese forces since 1931. Japan has attempted, and is still attempting, to annex five more provinces in North China, including Shantung. Just a few days ago, newspapers reported that Prince Teh, acting as a Japanese puppet, set up an illegal state in eastern Inner Mongolia. In the last several months, Japan has repeatedly attacked Amoy, in Fukien, and has invaded Shanghai, at the mouth of the Yangtse River, killing thousands of innocent civilians and many neutrals while meeting heroic resistance from Chinese defenders. The Japanese navy has illegally blockaded 800 miles of Chinese coastline when diplomatic relations have not been severed and war has not been declared. Japan attempted, in the Twenty-one Demands, to prevent China from giving any concessions on the coast to any third power without her consent, a demand which, if granted, would have facilitated a blockade without causing many international entanglements. Above all, Japan has now let it be known that she wants the removal of the Nanking government, with the governing heads, led by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, to be exiled. These events are not "incidents". They are in conformity with Japan's general plan to subjugate China. They are parts of the pattern disclosed twenty years ago in the Twenty-one Demands.

On January 18, 1915, the Japanese Minister Hioki, in Peking, presented the Twenty-one Demands to President Yuan Shih-Kai. These Demands, divided into five sections, were briefly as follows:

1. China was to agree to any surrender of German properties in the Shantung province that Japan might be able to effect. Also, China was not to alienate to any third party any territory in the province, was to grant Japan specified railway privileges, and was to make additional cities open ports.

2. Leases on Port Arthur and Dairen, the South Manchurian and Antung-Mukden railways, were to be extended to a period of ninety-nine years. Also, Japanese were to be free to lease land, to travel, and to reside anywhere within these areas, and there were demands for mining and railway privileges, for the Japanese control of loans, and for the employment of Japanese official advisers.

3. The largest iron-mining and smelting company in China, the Hanyehping Company, was to be placed under "cooperative" Sino-Japanese management,

and China was forbidden to sell her interest in the company without Japan's consent.

4. By the terms of this section China was to agree not to cede or lease to any third power any harbor, bay or island along the coast.

5. Japanese were to be employed by the Chinese government as political, military, and financial advisers, the police departments in certain districts were to be administered by Chinese and Japanese. China was to buy 50% or more of her munitions from Japan or to build a Sino-Japanese arsenal, employing Japanese technicians and using Japanese materials. Japanese were to be allowed to purchase land in the interior for schools, hospitals, and churches; railway concessions in the Yangtse Valley were to be granted; and Japan was to be consulted in all matters of foreign loans for the development of mines and other industries in Fukien province.

These Demands, if yielded to, constituted a virtual surrender of Chinese independence to Japanese control.

Contrary to diplomatic usage, the Japanese Minister presented the Demands directly to the President of China, and threatened severe reprisals if Yuan Shih-Kai failed to keep the negotiations in complete secrecy and the Demands became known to the public, or were communicated to other Powers. The motive for this need of secrecy is apparent. These Demands directly conflicted with existing treaties and the vital interests of many Powers, including Great Britain, then an ally of Japan. Thus Japan betrayed her ally in a time of crisis.

Partly because of the secrecy, and partly because of Japan's repeated assurances that she would maintain the American Open Door policy in China and preserve the territorial integrity of the Chinese Republic, the world refused to consider the full significance of the demands until Japan went to the length of presenting an ultimatum on May 7, 1915, giving China 48 hours in which to accede to the Demands.

Meanwhile Japan had massed approximately 60,000 troops in Manchuria and Shantung provinces, and on the Yangtse, under the pretext that the troops were sent to relieve garrisons. At the same time, nations of the world finally awakened to the true situation, and the Japanese public at home were bombarding their government with a series of embarrassing questions, and the Chinese people were urging the Chinese government to resist.

However, China's president Yuan Shih-Kai realized that such a course was impossible, and China was forced to yield, doing so only after a series of treaties and exchange of notes had resulted in the considerable modification of many of the demands in favor of China. The first three sections, with modifications, were accepted; the fourth section, in which Japan displayed its "anxiety" to guarantee the territorial integrity of China by demanding that China agree not to "cede or lease to a third power any harbor, bay, or island along the coast of China," was diplomatically overlooked; and group five, being held up for further negotiations, was finally withdrawn by Japan in the Washington Conference in 1922.

Of the original Twenty-one Demands the most important one now remaining in force is that concerning the Kwantung peninsula (the Dairen territory), south Manchuria and eastern Inner Mongolia. Because of this agreement, leases of the peninsula, the South Manchuria railway, and of the Antung-Mukden railway remain in force, terminating in 1977, 2002, and 2007, respectively. Japanese occupation of other areas in Manchuria is illegal, and has been condemned by the League of Nations when Japan was still a member state.

No careful review of Sino-Japanese events of the past months can fail to reveal how Japan has, over a long span of years, planned the hoped-for conquest of China. The Twenty-one Demands are indicative of Japanese ambitions in 1915. Today the essence of those Demands is similar, but the scope of them is far greater. In 1915 Japan started her campaign by taking the province

of Shantung. In recent years, Japan has separated four provinces from China, by setting up puppet governments in Manchuria and Jehol, and the present warfare is aimed toward the eventual seizure of five more North China provinces.

Evidence of the enlarged sphere of the present campaign is to be found in the recent Japanese bombardment of Chinese forts near Canton, of the preciously mentioned desire to annex five more important Chinese provinces, and in the widespread bombing raids by Japanese planes, which have flown far into the interior of China, and other acts of violence, bringing death and injury to thousands of noncombatants, including women and children.

Japanese diplomacy, though shrewd, has earned for itself an unsavory reputation because of the frequency with which Japanese statesmen blandly deny charges which are subsequently proven true. Also, foreign Powers have learned that a treaty with Japan is a treaty against oneself.

Japan in 1922 made a great gesture of the statement she would abide by the Open Door policy and the terms of the Nine Power Treaty. The world was given to understand that Japan, with other signatory nations of the Nine Power Treaty, would guarantee, first of all, and permanently, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China. Yet the recently reported Japanese conditions for peace with China are as follows:

1. Complete disarmament of China.
2. Ousting of the Nanking government, with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and other governing heads to be exiled.
3. Crushing of alleged Communistic activities.
4. Assurance that there will be no continuance of anti-Japanese activities.
5. The creation of a wide, demilitarized zone around Shanghai, and to the South of the Yellow River, to embrace the five Northern provinces which Japan seeks to add to its previously established puppet regime.
6. Guarantees of complete dominance by Japan of China's commercial and economic life.

Thus the terms for peace reaffirm Japan's determination to crush China completely by removing all means of defence or resistance, by eliminating the national government and ousting its leaders, and by creating additional puppet governments to camouflage the seizure of Chinese territories.

Of course the ever-present accusation of Communistic activities, inevitable in a Japanese demand, is dragged across the trail in an effort to obscure the issue. If Japan was really enthusiastic in combating communism, why should she be so cautious to evade a major conflict with Soviet Russia, where Japan could find all the communism to combat that she could handle?

Nonetheless, the issue is clear. There is no hidden or obtuse meaning. The situation, reduced to its briefest essentials, is this: An aggressor nation is waging unprovoked, undeclared war on a nation fighting for its very existence.

Japan has displayed her motives repeatedly during the past twenty years, and has left no doubt in the mind of anyone but that she will pursue any method, adopt any tactic, to gain her end.

Opposed to these ruthless motives is the steadfast determination among the entire Chinese people that China shall remain free and intact. China does not desire war. As Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has said: "We shall not forsake peace until there is no hope for peace. We shall not talk lightly of sacrifice until we are driven to the last extremity, which makes sacrifice inevitable. The sacrifice of an individual is insignificant, but the sacrifice of a nation is a mighty thing. For the life of an individual is finite, while the life of a nation is eternal."

"Japanese to Take Shanghai and Keep It"

Invaders at Least Reveal Their Determination to Enjoy Fruits of Conquest

FOREIGN TRADE PERILED

Outsiders Likely to Be Pushed Out of Picture if China is Beaten

INTERNATIONAL PARADE

(San Francisco "News", Nov. 4, 1937)

By JOHN THOMPSON

The fighting around Shanghai has progressed sufficiently to give one a fair idea as to the ultimate result—the eventual victory of the Japanese there and occupation of the city by them. That this is the opinion of informed people on the spot is evidenced by the conference last Tuesday on board the U. S. S. Augusta, anchored off Shanghai, at which time the fate of that city was discussed. Tentative proposals were made to the Japanese representatives for the neutralization of Shanghai, thus allowing the city to carry on the same as before hostilities started.

The plan called for Japanese troops to move out of the conquered territory after the Chinese had retired to their new defense lines. As soon as the troops of both belligerents had withdrawn, the port was to be opened and business resumed as of old. As was expected, the Japanese balked at such an attempt to re-establish the previous situation in the commercial metropolis of China, claiming they had sacrificed thousands of lives and millions of treasure to gain their victory. Foreign business men of Shanghai haven't gotten over the shock yet.

As they see it, the Japanese will not give up control of Shanghai for years, possibly for decades. This control will have the same effect it has had in other parts of China where Japan moved in. Invariably foreign business has had to move out. Most of China's imports from the United States and from Europe have been coming in by way of Shanghai. With the Japanese in control of this vital gate, American, British and other non-Chinese business men feel that not only will they lose their respective business, but that their home lands, now selling to China through Shanghai, will lose their Chinese market.

That such a situation will have an adverse effect on the export and shipping trade of our Pacific Coast, particularly of San Francisco, cannot be denied. Local businessmen have not forgotten what has happened to their business in those portions of the Asiatic continent occupied by the Nipponese. Latest "casualties" include such places as Manchuria and the Tientsin area in North China.

Foreigners look with apprehension on a Japanese victory in China, seeing a repetition and magnifying of Shanghai's case on a national scale.

These business men are urging their respective governments to do something about it, at the same time holding but little hope that any nation is at present in a position to take positive action in the premises.

Informed quarters in Shanghai and other parts of China profess to see the unfolding of Japan's plan in China through this Shanghai meeting. It is their idea that Japan's military moves in China have definite territorial ambitions, in spite of all explanations to the contrary. Even if Japan were to seek no territory, she is certain to be assured of complete control of it before handing the same back to be ruled nominally by Chinese puppets. Looked at in this light, Nippon's contention that it has no territorial ambitions is literally correct but practically speaking, the dictum of Tokio will run undisputed in the areas affected.

